Hearings Underscore Fascist Danger in U.S.

TV Show Ends With McCarthy Still Unchecked

By L. P. Wheeler

The Army-McCarthy hearings closed June 17 after piling up 36 days of solid evidence that a fascist movement called McCarthyism has sunk roots deep into the government and the military.

For 36 days McCarthy paraded before some 20,000,000 TV viewers as the self-appointed custodian of America's security. No one challenged him when he turned the Senate caucus room into a fascist forum to lecture with charts and pointer on the "menace of Communism."

This ghastly farce seems incredible. Yet the "anti-McCarthyites" in the hearing sat before the Wisconsin Senator and nodded in agreement while he hit them over the head with the "menace of Communism." And then they blinked as if astonished when he brought down his "21 years of treason" club.

The charge of treason is the ready-made formula of the American fascists for putting a "save America" McCarthyite dictatorship in power. It means that McCarthy is offering the millions of people who listen to him a mission: save America from the traitors, scoundrels and idiots who have brought us to the brink of ruin. Save America by supporting McCarthy!

And not one word was uttered by the Democrats or Republicans to answer this fascist program! Instead, the great hero of anti-McCarthyite hopes, Army Counsel Welch, said in the closing days of the hearings: "Senator McCarthy, you do very good work."

McCARTHY

SPY NETWORK

McCarthy's spy network in the military came to light at the hearings. But instead of this becoming the target of attack by the anti-McCarthyites, the Republicans and Democrats allowed McCarthy to brazenly appeal for new recruits to his fascist underground. McCarthy swore he would defend every stoolie he had and defied the government to indict him for stealing secret papers. The administration backed away from this challenge.

The hearings provided an exhibition of unscrupulous fascist methods: Lies, frame-ups, doctored photographs, forged documents, demagogy, deceit, phony emotion, trick oratory and all the rest of the disgusting arsenal of the fascist demagogue.

It brought fear and alarm to millions of Americans. To many the realization came home that here was the logical result of the witch hunt and the cold war. For many unionists, minority people and foreign-born workers, the whole thing had the unmistakable smell of fascism.

But to other millions, to the mass of potential fascists, the disoriented members of the middle class, it brought the figure of their "leader" and "savior" into focus. Sharing the experience with their fascist commander, they felt drawn closer to him.

The hearings showed that the fascist faction in the Republican and Democratic parties has grown at an alarming rate. As a matter of fact, it began to crowd the old political machines and threaten their power. Thus the blow-up over Schine and the resultant hearings.

ANALYSIS VERIFIED

Six months ago the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party warned: "McCarthyism is the American form of fascism. . . Smash McCarthyism before it smashes us." The SWP warned that the Democrats and Republicans would prove incapable of dealing with the fascist menace. It called on the labor movement to break with the capitalist parties and build an independent Labor Party. It declared that only by placing a Workers and Farmers Government in power would the menace of fascism be irrevocably destroyed.

Now that the hearings are over we may ask: Has this analysis and program been verified? We submit that it was proved to the hilt each day of the 36 days of

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Build a Labor Party Now!

THE MILITANT

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War Launched by State Dept. Against People of Guatemala

SWP Defends Guatemalans In Struggle for Freedom

The following letter was sent by SWP National Secretary Farrell Dobbs to President Arbenz of Guatemala, June 24:

The Socialist Workers Party sends its revolutionary greetings to the Guatemalan people. We give our unqualified support to your heroic stand against the invasion of your country by the hirelings of the United Fruit Company.

We know the truth about your fight to liberate your country from the tyranny of foreign capitalists and landlords.

We know that it is because of this fight that you face the threat of invasion.

We know who the enemy is — it is the Wall Street billionaires who are embarked on a drive to rule the world and who consider the Western Hemisphere their private preserve.

We are not alone in knowing the truth about your fight. The same enemy you now face has been faced by millions of workers in our country on the picket lines in the great strikes to organize and defend our unions.

The corporations in the United States do not fool all of the people. We know them for what they are — profit hungry, rapacious, greedy and cruel.

We know that they have grown rich and fat at the expense of the workers and peasants of your country among others.

We know that they would pay the workers in the U.S. the same miserable wages they pay the Guatemalan workers if they could smash our unions.

We know that they have robbed your land, defrauded you of tax monies by "undervaluing" their land. And when you expropriated part of their holdings, and offered to pay them at the value they themselves set, they ran to the State Department and accused you of "robbery."

We know that the cry of a "Communist menace" was raised to cover the criminal plot to invade your country and restore a dictatorship of the landlords and the United Fruit Company.

Our party is opposed to capitalism. It advocates socialism. We do not agree with the political program of the Guatemalan government which is pro-capitalist. But that is a matter for the people of Guatemala to decide. Meanwhile we consider it the elementary duty of every workers' organization in the United States to take an unambiguous stand in favor of the right of Guatemala to settle its own affairs without armed interference from American Big Business.

The officials of the labor movement in the United States have shirked this duty. Instead they have given their services to the common enemy of the Guatemalan and U.S. workers. This treacherous act of the labor officials imposes a more urgent task upon the incorruptible militants in the ranks of our trade unions. They must speak out. They must tell the truth. They must mobilize maximum support for your just fight.

Your struggle against the imperialist invader will not go unheeded. It will become a call to action for millions of workers in the United States and the world who will rally to the banner of freedom and stop the hand of imperialism.

"Eventually" – But Not Now

Five Negro students shown with their attorney in lobby of Memphis (Tenn.) State College after being refused admission. College Pres. J. M. Smith said he believes "we will eventually accept Negroes in view of the Supreme Court ruling," but not right now.

Race Terrorists Flout Court School Decision

The Southern white-supremacists such as Herman Talmadge and James F. Byrnes seek to defend their stubborn resistance to integrated schools with the claim that the southern Negroes favor segregation. This argument was knocked into a cocked hat by Max K. Gilstrap of the Christian Science Monitor, who reported June 21 that "nine out of ten Negroes this correspondent has talked to . . . have been definitely against segregation."

Gilstrap spoke to Negroes throughout Georgia and South Carolina.

The Southern Bourbons know these facts. That is why they are preparing to resort to terror. This is made quite plain by John L. Clark in the June 19 Pittsburgh Courier. Clark warns that "Southern leaders . . . governors, . . . and legislators are planning to . . . intimidate, threaten and probably imprison, for the single purpose of cancelling out the rights of the Negroes to be educated on the same level as all other races."

Clark should have added lynching to the list. This favorite method of the white-supremacists has been used twice in the south since the Supreme Court handed down its ruling against segregated public schooling. The first lynching occurred near Vredenburg, Alabama. The Pittsburgh Courier for June 5 reports that "The victim, as yet unnamed . . . was found apparently hanged in a n near . . . a Negro church."

The Negro people around Vredenburg have been terrorized into silence.

The second lynching took place last week three miles west of Marion, Arkansas. The June 19 Courier reports that "the charred corpse of Isidore Banks, 59, was found chained to a tree."

To date no one has been apprehended by the authorities for this crime.

Besides Banks' death, the Courier lists incidents in Birmingham, Alabama, where a dentist's home was damaged by fire; Cleveland, Ohio, where vandals threw tar and paint bombs into Negro homes; and Charleston, S. C., where crosses were burnt in front of schools.

United Fruit Co. Army Invades Land in Plot To Crush Government

By Murry Weiss

NEW YORK, June 24 — Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, today sent a strongly worded letter to John Foster Dulles, protesting the infamous role of the State Department in helping to organize and arm the counter-revolutionary forces that invaded the tiny republic of Guatemala June 18 with the aim of overturning the legally elected government and restoring the imperialist rule of the United Fruit Company.

"In the name of the Socialist Workers Party I demand that you immediately halt your conspiracy to overthrow by force and violence the democratically elected government of Guatemala," Dobbs said.

"I accuse you and the State Department of the attempted military overthrow of a sovereign state.

"I accuse you and the State Department of being directly responsible for the invasion of Guatemala by a gang of mercenaries in the interests of the United Fruit Company.

"I accuse you and the State Department of trying to put down the majority of the Guatemalan people by force, violence, invasion and lying propaganda.

"Halt this act of imperialist aggression! Get out of Guatemala! Call off your hired mercenaries! Let the people of Guatemala determine their own social economic and political system!"

IMPERIALIST CONSPIRACY

After weeks of provocation, the State Department launched its rigged Guatemalan "revolution" on June 18. This conspiratorial, military adventure was aimed at igniting a revolt of the Guatemalan officer caste against their own elected government.

At this date the invasion has not succeeded. The United Fruit Army hasn't been able as yet to penetrate Guatemalan territory to any serious extent. On the other hand news of intensive defense preparations, the arming of workers and peasant detachments, and the organization of mass resistance to the invader is reported.

The Wall Street press confines itself to justifying armed intervention rather than trying to deny it. But the attempts of the State Department liars to depict the United Fruit Army invasion as a "revolutionary" uprising against "Communism" has fizzled before it even got under way.

The truth is too obvious. The Guatemalan people are fighting for their land and for their democratic liberty; the State Department is fighting to impose a military dictatorship of landlords and imperialists on the workers and peasants of Guatemala.

This truth about Guatemala was unwittingly admitted by Joseph C. Harsch of the Christian Science Monitor June 22: "The Soviet delegates at the United Nations were being even more than usually cynical when they dared to criticize the Western Hemisphere for employing a technique well developed and frequently employed by Moscow itself."

Harsch gives away the whole wretched game with this argu-

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Legless Veteran Greeted on Tour By Detroit Unions

By Paul Williams

DETROIT, June 19 — Ford Facts, official newspaper of the CIO United Automobile Workers Local 600, greeted Kutcher's national tour with the statement, "Citizens of Detroit will enjoy a refreshing change from the Clardy-McCarthy witch-hunt atmosphere when James Kutcher arrives in Detroit. . ." And so it has been. Despite the wall of silence placed on his visit here by the capitalist press and the summer lull in union activities, Kutcher has been given a warm welcome.

At a membership meeting of Local 600, the largest local union in the world, Kutcher was introduced to the audience by Vice President John Orr, who spoke of the case of the legless veteran as the outstanding civil rights case today. In the name of Ford 600, Orr reaffirmed support of the fight to win reinstatement of Kutcher to the clerk's job with the Veterans Administration from which he was arbitrarily fired because of his political views.

Following Michigan Governor Mennen Williams to the rostrum, Kutcher referred to the notorious Trucks Law which Mennen had signed. Speaking of the Socialist Workers Party to which he belongs, Kutcher said, "Now it is a fact that when our accusers had to come into court and try to prove a charge of subversion against us, they were unable to produce even one iota of proof to make such a frame-up charge stick. Right here in the state of Michigan, as some of you in the audience undoubtedly know, they tried to throw us off the ballot back in 1952 under the provisions of the Trucks Law. But State

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Protest Meeting

"Hands off Guatemala" is the subject of a protest meeting to be held under the auspices of the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party Thurs., July 1, at 8 p. m. in Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave.

Followers of Fascist Hardened by Hearings

By Harry Ring

A few days after the McCarthy-Army hearing ended, a member of an AFL craft union, who describes himself as a liberal Democrat and "rabidly anti-McCarthy," told me that he was firmly convinced that the hearings had cut deeply into McCarthy's popular support.

Prior to the hearings, he explained, many people accepted the picture of McCarthy presented in the pro-McCarthy press. But with the hearings, he said, they had the opportunity to see McCarthy for themselves, and "to see how much like Hitler he really looks."

It is a fact that the hearings did serve to generate an impressive amount of new anti-McCarthy sentiment. Political observers, the press, and professional pollsters are virtually unanimous in their finding that a substantial sector of the populace who had been in the "no opinion" or "neutral" column before the hearings have now become strongly anti-McCarthy.

This is an important and heartening fact. But it is just one part of the picture. To take it by itself and to deduce from it that the menace of McCarthyite fascism has now lessened is a false and dangerous error.

The very same analysts who report the growth of anti-McCarthy sentiment are equally unanimous in their conclusion that McCarthy's supporters are now even more firm in their allegiance to the would-be Fuehrer. And that group of solid McCarthy supporters is far larger and more significant than some people care to realize.

On the basis of an impressive national round-up made by its reporters in key cities throughout the country, the anti-McCarthy Christian Science Monitor reports in its June 17 issue that the decline in McCarthy's support, noted as beginning at the time of his attack on General Zwicker, **"now has been halted at what may be a hard core of about one-third of American public opinion in his favor."**

GRAVE DANGER

This one fact makes it necessary for every anti-McCarthyite to soberly assess the danger that exists. Recognition that McCarthyism spells Hitlerism is now wide-spread, and yet responsible sources credit him with the support of one-third the nation! Assume they are mistaken. Say that he has the support of only one-fifth or even one-tenth the nation. Is the danger less real?

McCarthy has no more intention of waiting to win the majority before establishing his fascist

(Continued on page 2)

Flanders, Thompson Nail McCarthy as 'Fascist'

By David L. Weiss

As a result of the McCarthy-Army hearings two prominent national figures, the conservative Republican Senator Flanders of Vermont, and the well-known columnist, Dorothy Thompson, have come to the conclusion that McCarthyism is the American form of Fascism.

The 73-year-old Senator Flanders announced his opinion in an interview on the National Broadcasting Company's June 13 "Meet the Press" TV program. He stated that McCarthy's activities were "clearly in the direction of fighting communism with fascism."

Pointing out that what is at stake "goes back over the last 1,500 years to when Western civilization began," he declared, **"That is the stage upon which this little incident is being played. Anyone who cannot see this as the crisis of this civilization is blind."**

Questioned by a reporter, he admitted that he was wrong when he, together with all the other Senators except one, voted Feb. 2 to give McCarthy the funds he demanded for his witch hunt committee in 1954.

Dorothy Thompson, in her June 7 syndicated column, "On the Record," was likewise compelled to admit that she had been wrong about McCarthy.

"This column," she wrote, "once minimized any comparison between Senator McCarthy, the men around him, his methods of mass appeal, and the national situation with the forces that taken all together produced Adolph Hitler. We no longer take so optimistic a view, seeing too many parallels."

The parallels that Thompson sees are deadly. "Hitler's first supporters," she states, "were demobilized and disgruntled veterans, rowdy and deluded youth, derailed intellectuals, middle classes suffering from declining standard of living, unorganized labor. . ."

"They were weakest in the capital, Berlin, in the industrial centers, and in Prussia, and strongest in the predominantly agricultural states, such as Thuringen and Bavaria — where it started."

Hitler, Thompson continues, accused "the German Constitutional Republic and all its institutions . . . in his inflammatory speeches . . . of harboring corruption, covering for Communists, and selling out the nation on two fronts, West and East, to foreign powers."

"Until his popular following had grown to immense proportions, he did not have the support of a single prominent industrialist."

"The tactic of the conservative parties, however, (seeing his popular power) was to surround him, 'take the charlatan into camp,' 'disarm him' — in short, cajole and appease."

NAZI AIM

Hitler's aim, states Thompson, "was the destruction of constitutional government; the dissolution of opposing parties; the establishment of a private espionage system within every government bureau, regiment, city and village block, executive office, and factory; and the final concentration of all power into his own hands."

(Further confirmation of the fascist character of McCarthyism is supplied by Alfred Kohlberg, "one of his [McCarthy's] ardent supporters," according to Dana Adams Schmidt in the June 14 N. Y. Times.)

(Kohlberg on returning last month from a tour of Europe told McCarthy, according to Schmidt, "that large numbers of Europeans believe that the United States is in the throes of a neo-Nazi movement headed by a potential Hitler, namely Senator McCarthy.")

(In Berlin especially, Kohlberg said that "every paper . . . had presented the viewpoint of the McCarthy matter as that of a rising neo-Nazi movement . . . or had not covered the subject at all . . . and that the general impression was that America was threatened with a possible Fascist take over."

McCARTHY'S REAL AIM

We can only welcome the growing awareness of the fascist menace expressed by Flanders and Thompson. It would be suicidal folly, however, to rely upon these two spokesmen for capitalism or any other supporters of the capitalist system to combat McCarthyism.

McCarthy's forces are closing ranks and beginning to march with vast financial resources behind them. Their real aim, in destroying the democratic forms of government, is to smash the organized labor movement.

Th anti-McCarthy forces are scattered, confused and without an effective program of action That is another parallel with pre-Hitler Germany — the deadliest parallel of all.

Only the mighty American labor movement, organized into its own political party, can unite the people in this fight, take on McCarthy and prevent fascism from coming to power in America.

The American Way of Life

Caveat Emptor Includes Sweet Potatoes

"Caveat emptor" is a Latin phrase that means "Let the purchaser beware." According to Webster's New International Dictionary it is "a maxim implying a rule of English and American law that the purchaser buys at his own risk, except as to express warranties or those implied by law."

In the time of Karl Marx the maxim was observed so rigorously that the author of "Capital" noted: "In bourgeois society the 'legal fiction' prevails that every person, as buyer of commodities, has an encyclopaedic knowledge of them."

In our time, however — at least in America where we take pride in being progressive — the purchaser gets a little better break. In some cases it appears that the capitalists themselves have decided that it is not fatal to accept return of articles from dissatisfied customers.

America may even be able to boast that the warranties "implied by law" have been extended since the days of Marx, as the following case, reported in the June 19 Baltimore Sun, seems to bear witness:

Miss Phyllis Moore of New York opened a can of sweet potatoes she had bought. Whether she intended to simply heat them up, or candy them to go with something special like cranberries and roast turkey is not reported. Whatever Miss Moore had planned, apparently after cutting open the lid she changed her mind, the reason being that she "saw the tips of three fingers on top of the potatoes."

Even though it was only the tips of three fingers, they were not easily mistaken for bits of sweet potato as they included the fingernails which "still had bright red polish. . ."

Miss Moore decided that this was a case involving the law and she called the cops. The police traced the can to the Phillips Brothers Packing Company.

The government filed suit under the Pure Food and Drug Act against the company and the case was argued before Chief Federal Judge William C. Coleman.

Company attorneys said that a year before the allegedly adulterated sweet potatoes were sold to Miss Moore, the fingers apparently dropped into the can after they were amputated from a worker's hand by machinery used in the canning process."

Attorney Robert F. Skutch, Jr., describing the company's concern over the incident, said that more than 300 cans were searched in an effort to find the fingers after the accident. "It was finally concluded," reported the Baltimore Sun, "the fingers must have dropped into a drain located near the machine and that, combined with poor lights in the packing room, made officials abandon the search."

Drain or no drain, poor lights or not, assistant U.S. attorney James H. Langrall "charged that the company had not made a proper search of the cans which go through the machinery at the rate of 110 a minute."

The company's exhaustive search of the entire product handled by the worker during virtually the whole three minutes preceding the accident seemed to make no impression on Mr. Langrall. He pressed for conviction "on the grounds the company had shipped the can in violation of the Pure Food and Drug Act."

In addition, George T. Daughters of the Pure Food and Drug Administration further defended the interests of the American consumer by pointing out that "X-ray machines were available to find foreign matter in sealed cans and should have been used here."

Judge Coleman decided to fine the company $800. He said, in imposing this penalty, that he felt the company had not used "the highest degree of care" in searching for the amputated fingers.

Nothing was said in the report about safety conditions around the machine. In fact nothing was said about the worker who suffered the accident except the observation of Miss Moore, the consumer who opened the can of sweet potatoes, that the fingers belonged "to a Negro." From the additional fact that the fingernails were painted red, we can deduce that it was a woman. And that is all we know about her.

We don't know how she came to lose her fingers — whether the machine was speeded up too fast and she became worn out, or what.

We don't know whether she is still working at the same machine, or was transferred to another, or was fired. We don't know whether she got compensation or how much. The paper even failed to report whether the packing room still had "poor lights" or whether a cover was put on the drain.

But no matter how bad the conditions the Phillips Brothers Packing Comnany may still maintain for its colored women workers, we may take pride in the fact that an American court has put this outfit on notice that it had better pay a little more heed to the interests of the consumers of sweet potatoes.

— Jack Bustelo

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The "Mad Genius" Scientists Move to the Forefront

By Daniel Roberts

The "mad genius" scientist is a character of the comic books and children's radio programs. His is the brilliant intellect devoid of any feeling for human beings. His genius penetrates the secrets of nature, but the fruit of his callous mind are implements of death and destruction.

The "mad genius" scientist has come to life in America. He was present at the loyalty hearings of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer in the guise of his accusers — Dr. Edward Teller, Dr. Luis W. Alvarez and William L. Borden. It was their testimony that led to Oppenheimer's suspension as a "security risk" from his post as chairman of the General Advisory Council of the Atomic Energy Commission on the ground that he lacked enthusiasm for the hydrogen-bomb.

Teller testified that at the end of the war with Japan, Oppenheimer was against plans to develop the H-bomb. "Oppenheimer argued," said Teller, ". . .that it would be a wonderful thing if we could pursue it (hydrogen fission research) in a really peaceful world under international cooperation, but that under the present set-up this was not a good idea to go on with it."

J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER

CONSCIENCE-STRICKEN

Oppenheimer in his own testimony stated that the horrible devastation produced by the A-bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 stirred his conscience and made him unwilling to go ahead with even more awful weapons.

Oppenheimer was not alone in this sentiment. Hiroshima and Nagasaki produced revulsion throughout the scientific community. In 1945, the majority of the scientists working on atomic research fled the government laboratories to get away from their hell-dealing work. Only a few continued with atomic research for the purpose of building bombs. Chief among these was Dr. Edward Teller, who never lost his enthusiasm for the hydrogen bomb.

In September 1949 the H-bomb plans were revived when President Truman announced that the Soviets had exploded an atom-bomb of their own making. Scientists were reassembled, and the orders were handed down: **produce the hell-bomb.**

But unlike Teller, Dr. Oppenheimer still lacked enthusiasm. According to a charge made by Dr. Alvarez he even hoped that the first tests would fail, so that the whole project could be abandoned. "Dr. Oppenheimer acted in a way which for me was exceedingly hard to understand," Dr. Teller testified. "His actions appeared to me confused and complicated."

These were the actions of a man torn between his social conscience and orders which he had to carry out if he was to retain his position. Dr. Teller, the callous scientist, could not understand such a conflict. All Oppenheimer's scruples were alien to him.

WAS IT TREASON?

To the McCarthyite-minded William Borden, Oppenheimer's conduct appeared as calculated treason. In a letter sent to the FBI on November 7, 1953, Borden declared "More probably than not he (Oppenheimer) has been functioning as a (Soviet) espionage agent."

The truth is that Oppenheimer **did** go along with the H-bomb project. But to the rulers of Wall Street, reluctant support is not enough. They demand unquestioned obedience to their edicts. Here we reach the heart of the question. **The "mad genius" is not the product of science or of human nature. He is a specific product of capitalist society.**

SCIENTIFIC HIRELINGS

Capitalism long ago bent practical science to its unquestioned way. It transformed the practical scientist into a flunkey. For instance, chemists working for Standard Oil have no independent voice or standing. They are hirelings and do what they are told.

But while regimenting practical science capitalism in the past left some degree of freedom to the more abstract and theoretical branches. This phase of inquiry was conducted in universities operating under the codes of academic freedom. Top flight scientists were honored men and women.

The field of atomic science was in this category until the harnessing of atomic energy became a reality. For several decades atomic research had been conducted mainly for the purpose of discovering the make-up of the universe. But during the Second World War its practical application came to the fore, and this field of science was turned to the making of bombs. All the great names in atomic physics were gathered for the practical task of producing superexplosives.

What happened to the social status of these men and women? As eminent individuals they asked to be admitted to the ranks of statesmen now that their labors held such ghastly consequences for mankind. They wanted their opinions and their scruples to be taken into account. Vannevar Bush, president of the Carnegie Institution, and an honored scientist who testified for Oppenheimer at the hearings, voices this desire in the New York Times Magazine June 13. He says, "Scientists need to be used not as lackeys our underlings but as partners in a great endeavor to preserve our freedoms."

DOLLAR DICTATORSHIP

But the billionaires who rule this country will never take the scientists into partnership. Policy making is their monopoly just as they monopolize all avenues of economic life. They don't care for the social views of the scientists. For they have already made the decision to prepare the country for war.

What the capitalist rulers want from the atomic scientists is their technical ability. They want the most fiendish and destructive means possible for waging war. No scruples, no back-talk, no examining of conscience. Produce! Exactly as we order! That is the command.

And if the old fashioned scientists trained in the atmosphere of scientific freedom can't make themselves over readily into flunkeys; if they try to go along but drag their feet — if they are held back by scruples — then a new brand of atomic scientist must take over. That is the Teller type, the fascist type. For it is this kind of callous scientist that took over in Nazi Germany, when those with a social conscience were exiled or locked up in concentration camps.

PHYSICISTS ALARMED

The suspension of Oppenheimer has raised a howl of protest among hundreds of atomic physicists who have not yet forsaken the more liberal traditions of the academic world. Many of them are fearful that association with radical thought and movements in their younger days may lead to their own victimization. However, they are caught up in production for the war drive and that seriously limits what they can do to prevent the Teller type of scientist from displacing the Oppenheimers.

Standing aside from all the other atomic scientists is the figure of Albert Einstein, an avowed socialist. He refuses to cooperate with the hell-bomb makers and calls for resistance to the witch hunt. He points forward to the day when science will come into its own not as the lackey of capital but as the servant of humanity. Then the function of practical science will be to create human abundance and eliminate human toil. Theoretical science will penetrate ever deeper into the make-up of the universe and constantly enrich man's understanding.

Of course, an Einstein can't create this kind of social order. It will be brought into being by the working class, headed by the revolutionary party. This class will abolish the nightmare of capitalist rule, its exploitation, wars, hell-bombs, fascist brutality and "mad genius" scientists.

The working class will establish a sane social order and will unite with the scientist in a march to peace, freedom and abundance.

...War on Guatemala

(Continued from page 1)

ment. He counts it cynical for the Soviet delegates to protest the use of a Kremlin "technique." But presumably it is not cynical for the U.S. to "employ a technique" which it has denounced.

For Mr. Harsch "the only question seriously at issue is whether the United States can manipulate an operation of this kind skillfully and successfully."

CUTTHROATS

The "technique" Harsch talks about is imperialist intervention in the guise of supporting a "revolution." The "revolutionaries" always turn out to be cutthroat fascists who are completely subservient to American imperialism. Wall Street, Harsch confesses, has been "employing this technique" skillfully down through the years in Latin America. And that is exactly what they are doing in Guatemala today.

The State Department propagandists contend that the Guatemalan government threatens the national security of the United States. They give only two pieces of "evidence" to support this. (1) The Guatemalan people have elected some "Communists" to office. (2) The Guatemalan government "allows" alleged Communists to lead the trade unions.

Since when is it the prerogative of the State Department to dictate to a people of another country whom they should vote for? And the trade unions of Guatemala elect their own leaders. The leaders are not appointed by the government. But what has all this to do with the security of the United States?

THE PANAMA CANAL

The trump argument of the State Department is that the Panama Canal is threatened by Guatemala. This fantastic lie is exploded by the military expert of the N. Y. Times, Hanson W. Baldwin, June 22: "The dimensions of the Guatemalan military forces indicate that it cannot possibly be taken as a serious military threat to United States' interests." Baldwin shows how Guatemala, 600 air miles from the Panama Canal, without an airforce, without airfields, with only 6,000 soldiers, is not a threat in the first place. And then he adds that the Panama Canal is in any case "no longer the vital lifeline it was prior to the age of air power."

Thus even an authoritative military expert, writing from the standpoint of American imperialist interests, gives the lie to the propaganda about U.S. security being threatened by Guatemala.

THE REAL ISSUE

What started the shooting in Guatemala is stated mildly, but pointedly, by the Manchester Guardian, June 17: "The first American warnings against the Communist danger took place at the same time as the first expropriations of land belonging to the United Fruit Company. That does not mean there are no Communists in Guatemala; but in the interest of truth this coincidence of American disquiet with the beginning of a Guatemalan nationalist movement working for economic independence should be noted."

This observation, made one day before the United Fruit Army marched, points the finger at the real antagonists in Guatemala. It is United Fruit and the State Department on one side, the workers and peasants on the other.

Reports from all over Latin America indicate a rising movement of protest against the brutal intervention of American imperialism. Pro-Guatemalan demonstrations of workers, peasants, students, and other anti-imperialist forces have taken place in Cuba, Mexico, Argentina, Uruguay and other countries.

In the United States the official leaders of the trade unions have turned a deaf ear to repeated requests from the Guatemalan workers for support. The labor officials have allowed themselves to be used in the propaganda build-up of the State Department against Guatemala.

That's why the Socialist Workers Party has launched a campaign to bring the truth about Guatemala to the workers of the U.S. and mobilize the widest possible support for the just cause of our brothers and sisters of Guatemala.

Safety First

The District of Columbia authorities asked Congress for $103,725 to "maintain public order" at the American Legion Convention next August. Legion officials protested to Eisenhower June 23 that the organization isn't a bunch of rowdies; but the request for funds was not withdrawn.

...McCarthy Hearings

(Continued from page 1)

the Army-McCarthy hearings. We saw the fascists in action; we saw the Democrats and Republicans unable to strike one solid blow; and above all we saw the results of labor leaving the fight against McCarthyism to the capitalist politicians.

What's going to happen now as the campaign for the 1954 elections gets under way? We must swallow a bitter pill — McCarthyism will be the main issue in the 1954 elections, just as McCarthy promised in his radio-TV speech of Nov. 24, 1953.

What will the line-up be? The McCarthyites will conduct their independent political campaign. At the same time they will paralyze and enmesh both Republican and Democratic candidates. The McCarthyites will pursue the offensive. They will hurl their unanswered treason charge, they will blackmail and smear and build their fascist legions.

And what will labor be doing?

According to the labor officials the powerful American labor movement will hang on to the frayed coattails of the Democratic Party and hope that McCarthyism can be defeated that way.

SAT ON THEIR HANDS

All through the hearings the labor officials were silent. They didn't take one official action against the fascist enemy of labor. They sat on their hands and watched the Democrats and Republicans fumble the ball with McCarthy. And now they propose to do the same in the elections.

Haven't the hearings taught us that the fight against McCarthyism cannot be entrusted to the capitalist politicians? Sitting at the Army-McCarthy hearings were representatives of the corporations, but not one single honest-to-God representative of labor was present. That's why McCarthy didn't have a single opponent worthy of the name to contend with.

The labor officials have announced their grand strategy for the 1954 election; it is to concentrate attention on the key areas where there will be a close contest between the so-called pro-labor and anti-labor forces. The only catch is that the "pro-labor" candidates are really Big Business representatives. They only say they are pro-labor. There is no way of forcing them to carry out labor's program.

Wouldn't it be a more effective use of the precious political funds collected from the rank and file to spot a few key candidates who come directly from the ranks of the unions? Candidates who are responsible to no one but the unions and will go into Congress fighting for the workers and the minorities?

Such a step wouldn't even entail a break with the whole political policy of the labor officials. It wouldn't necessarily mean the acceptance of the Labor Party proposal of the SWP. It would merely mean a small step in the direction of freeing the working class from its bondage to the capitalists on the political field.

Let us for the sake of argument grant the officials their policy of supporting the Democratic Party. Just consider. If there is any hope at all of forcing the "friends of labor" to keep thir promises in Congress instead of selling labor out each and every time — wouldn't this hope be better backed if labor had at least a few direct representatives of its own in Congress?

A START MUST BE MADE

It is imperative that the ice be broken. The power of American labor must be thrown into the fight against McCarthyism. Without this power the fight caves in at every turn. But labor's power must be organized politically in order to be effective. And political organization means independent organization. We are realists in our fight for a Labor Party. We know that the labor officials have the upper hand for their policy of supporting the Democrats at this time. But we think that a beginning must be made. The breakthrough of the Labor Party movement cannot be postponed until the labor officials wake up.

The time to organize the breakthrough is now. In every community the workers who are fed up with the policy of the bureaucracy must examine the practical possibilities to launch independent labor and minority campaigns and then wage a fight in the union for such a campaign. And the fight must not be given up after the fall elections. After the Congressional elections, the winter and spring municipal elections will take place all over the United States. The militants must start now to examine their local political situation with an eye to organizing independent labor and minority slates.

In this way we can get rolling so that by the time the next Presidential elections are due, a full-fledged Labor Party movement will be under way. After all wasn't that the way the CIO industrial union movement was born? If the workers had waited for the AFL officials to act they would have been "awaitin' 'till judgment day."

Bargaining Secret

A new way by which management of an unnamed New England firm has been winning arguments with union delegates by "underhanded, but not necessarily dishonest, means" is reported by the June 23 Wall Street Journal.

A few days before a "'particularly unpleasant subject is due to come up in a meeting, the company cafeteria is ordered to load up the coffee with chicory." A company executive reports: "The boys start off the meeting so steamed up about the terrible coffee, they haven't got the strength left to argue their best on more important matters."

In view of the effectiveness of such tactics, what do they need Taft-Hartley and McCarthy for?

...FOLLOWERS OF FASCIST

(Continued from page 1)

dictatorship in America than did Hitler in Germany. For fascists, a powerful well-organized minority hurled savagely against an unorganized, misled majority, is sufficient to achieve victory.

The fact that the hearings did not serve in any fundamental sense to undermine McCarthy is born out by the Monitor's round-up.

They report from Dallas, Texas, that while "The man on the street very early began to express doubts about him, McCarthy's millionaire backers at best have a few doubts as to the wisdom of his taking on the Army at the present time.

In Boston, where the Monitor is published, McCarthy's previous invasion of that area (attacks on Harvard and "investigations" at the General Electric plant) established the "pro" and "anti" lines well before the hearings. Those lines were not changed by the hearings.

According to the Monitor, Massachusetts politicians are "gun shy" on the issue. The Democrats fear that an anti-McCarthy stand would means loss of traditional support from "the Irish-Americans," who on the "McCarthys issue . . . might cross party lines with little hesitation."

On the other hand, in Portland, Oregon, a significant growth of anti-McCarthyism is now apparent. "A Republican candidate for the State Legislature, described himself as an 'ex-McCarthy fan,' with the emphasis on the 'ex'."

In St. Louis, Mo., "some of his more passive fans . . . have definitely turned against him" but, "Few fervent believers in the Senator and his activities appear to be losing faith in him."

A San Francisco "survey of men who count the public pulse beat here perhaps offers no clear cut conclusions," and in Los Angeles the hearings had "an impact on independents and other persons open to change . . . it is too soon to say how much."

The Monitor's Chicago correspondent notes that one-third of the letters to the anti-McCarthy Sun-Times have been running in favor of the Wisconsin demagogue. The counterpoint made by the reporter that an anti-McCarthy book is outselling a pro-McCarthy book in that city five to one must be weighed against the reasonable possibility that most McCarthyites don't read too many books.

On the basis of the total round-up, the Monitor concludes that McCarthy" has been more than holding his own."

TWO ATTITUDES

Two interviews reported by the Monitor's Chicago correspondent illuminate the difference between anti-McCarthyites without leadership and McCarthyites with the most powerful kind of leadership.

A city employee said, "Many people here are frightened . . . they are horrified that Senator McCarthy has been able to defy the law: to defy the President."

An investment firm executive said, "We've got to be rough on rats. McCarthy may be crude, but he's two fisted. That is what we need."

"On the street," the report winds up, "more than half of those asked refused to give their names and views."

That is the atmosphere that McCarthyism will continue to breed until the "antis" are organized into a powerful, positive movement capable of smashing the fascist danger.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Most of the reports are not yet in from the first of the Anti-Fascist Militant Mobilizations. However, the following telegram from **Minneapolis** indicates a good start on the national campaign:

"For Militant sales **Julia** is setting the example in Minneapolis. 26 single copies at one crack, or in other words, a new six-month subscription while selling house to house in a Negro neighborhood. Enthusiasm for the paper really catches on, you know, and she is a 100% Militant booster.

"**Donald** reports 20 sales made in a park area, and **Ralph** is doing well with street sales. **Bob, Jean, Evie, C. R., Fanny, Millie, Helen** and **Ray** all have bundles of five and 10 papers which they will sell during the week in their respective neighborhoods. Chalk Minneapolis up with sales of 75 single copies and one new six-month sub for the Militant."

New York Literature Agent **John Tabor** reports, "Friday is D Day in New York's drive to build the circulation of the Militant. Squads will go to Brooklyn, Upper Manhattan and the Bronx bringing the paper to new readers. The next day a street meeting will also feature the current issue of the Militant, raising the slogan of 'Hands Off Guatemala!'

"Sales last week were six Militants and one Fourth International sold house to house by **Harold**; four Militants sold at a TWU meeting by **Dorothy, Ethel B.,** and **Priscilla**; and four anti-McCarthy pamphlets sold by **Manny, Priscilla** and **Ruth** at a Brooklyn ALP meeting."

The **Cleveland** comrades write, 'We sold a renewal the other day to a colored worker who has been reading the paper since 1945. Although he says he often finds a number of copies accumulate unopened before he has time to read them, each time he does open his paper he finds so much 'interesting information' that he decides to renew. He also bought a copy of the spring issue of Fourth International.

"One small project we are conducting around the Militant is watching the letters to the editors of the three local dailies and sending appropriately marked copies of the Militant and a notice of the anti-McCarthy pamphlet to letter writers who might be interested. We feel this may turn out to be a worthwhile effort regardless of the immediate response."

R. K. of **Brooklyn, N. Y.** sends in her renewal to the Militant and writes, "Educate the masses. Make them class conscious. Educational work will bring us all nearer to our goal, and eventually to the establishment of the cooperative commonwealth. Then we'll have economic security, peace and good, and continue to build a better world. Hearty greetings. Yours for socialism."

Mrs. **M. M.** of **Minneapolis** writes, "I wish you the best of luck and hope that people must get to see the light of truth and wake up before it is too late. Keep on turning on the light. I like to read the Militant and send my best regards."

G.R.S. of **Bayport, N. Y.** also wishes to express his appreciation for the Militant. He writes, "The Militant represents the highest standards in socialist journalism and deserves the active support of all socialists regardless of which group we may belong to. None who read it can fail to realize that here is one voice that never can be silenced by the fascist McCarthy and his willing henchmen of the capitalist class. It is a voice of courage, wisdom and inspiration!"

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A Bill to Muzzle the Press

On May 25 Representative Katherine St. George, (R., N. Y.) introduced a bill in the House of Representatives that would curb freedom of the press. Her bill would allow the Postmaster General to revoke second-class mailing rights of publications which "contain material advocating political and other doctrines contrary to the best interests of the United States."

The St. George measure is a follow-up on the demand made by Senator McCarthy last August that the Washington Post and similar "communist" newspapers that criticize the fascist senator be barred from the mails. Representative St. George admitted herself that the device of revoking second-class mailing rights (which permit the circulation of newspapers and magazines at a fraction of cost) "is a long first step" to outright censorship.

The bill has been recognized by a long list of newspapers and periodicals as a serious attack on the right of freedom of press guaranteed by the First Amendment. The list includes such prominent publications as the Washington Post and Editor and Publisher.

What is significant is that each of these papers understands that it could become a victim of the proposed ban. "If Senator McCarthy were Postmaster General," says the Washington Post, "it would surely mean the denial of second or third class mail privileges to Time Magazine, the New York Herald-Tribune, the New York Post . . . all of which the Senator at one time or another has called 'Communistic.'" The Washington Post could have added that the same action would be taken by a Postmaster General intimidated by the fascist Senator.

The CIO News — voice of the CIO's national leadership — has also entered the lists against the St. George bill. It, too, recognized the danger not only to others but to itself. In this, of course, the publication is right. But there is a difference between the CIO News and a newspaper such as the Washington Post. The Post, as a liberal capitalist publication, can be expected to do no more than protest.

The CIO News, on the other hand, speaks for people who lead 5½ million workers, including the most dynamic sections of the labor movement. Why do the CIO leaders stop at an editorial in the News? They have the power to *stop* witch-hunting measures such as these. In fact, they can bring the whole witch hunt to a stop.

Taking this bill as the starting point, and citing the threat to the CIO's own publication, the union leadership should launch a real campaign throughout the ranks of labor to educate them about the menace that the witch hunt represents to the unions. Such a drive could be an inspiring opener in a militant campaign involving the whole rank and file to roll-back the witch hunt that threatens to smash all democratic rights in America.

Setback in Maine for McCarthy

Election trends continue to go against McCarthyism. On June 21, Senator Margaret Chase Smith scored a 5-1 victory in the Maine Republican primaries. Her opponent, Robert L. Jones was a man hand-picked by Senator McCarthy to run against her.

Four years ago, Senator Smith denounced McCarthy's methods on the floor of the Senate in what she called a "declaration of conscience." The fascist Senator decided upon revenge. It is his policy to unseat his Congressional opponents wherever possible by running a candidate of his own against them. The least he hopes to achieve thereby is to intimidate his adversaries.

Although the newspapers minimized the McCarthy angle, this was really the central feature of the race. Campaigners for Senator Smith complained about Texas oil money invading Maine (McCarthy's main financial backers are Texas oil millionaires), and Mrs. Margaret Chase Smith charged in a TV broadcast on the eve of the voting that Jones appeared to be a deliberate plant of McCarthy's in the race.

It is true that neither Mrs. Smith nor Jones made McCarthyism the main campaign issue. McCarthy himself stayed away from Maine during the hottest part of the race. The Christian Science Monitor on June 16 explains this with the statement that "The Army-McCarthy hearings have not lessened the number of McCarthy supporters in Maine, but indications are that the number of persons opposed to Senator McCarthy's methods has grown." But the Monitor's explanation shows that the issue of McCarthyism was soft-pedalled by the fascist senator because public sentiment had shifted against him in Maine.

The link between Jones and McCarthy is clear. Jones was a member of Senator Potter's staff until he resigned in order to enter the race. Potter is a member of the McCarthy investigating committee and until recently a supporter of the fascist Senator. Last winter after Jones announced his candidacy, McCarthy introduced him to two Maine audiences as a "young man who ought to be in Washington." Jones himself praised McCarthy throughout the campaign.

The outcome of the Maine elections shows the same trend as the results of the primary vote in California earlier this month. There in two noteworthy races, the voters expressed themselves against the witch-hunt and McCarthyism. They renominated Rep. Robert L. Condon in the Democratic primaries, although Condon had been barred from the Nevada atomic proving grounds as a "poor security risk" and was opposed by the Democratic National Committee as well as the McCarthyites. And they defeated California's "little McCarthy," state Senator Jack Tenney, in both the Republican and Democratic primaries.

The victory of Margaret Chase Smith in Maine and the outcome of the California primaries are signs of the trend of public sentiment. But by themselves these expressions cannot defeat McCarthy, for neither the Republican nor Democratic parties can wage serious war against the fascist Senator. It will take the organization of a Labor Party to deal McCarthyism a crushing blow.

Confusion and Collapse

The rapid growth of the McCarthyite fascist menace has had an important effect in one quarter. It has thrust most of the radical left-wing groups into a severe crisis — a crisis of analysis, program and orientation.

The labor bureaucracy has no analysis or policy of its own on the vital question of McCarthyism. It feeds on the policy of liberalism. And the capitalist liberals in turn are completely bewildered and bankrupt in the face of the fascist danger.

The Stalinists for their own treacherous reasons are the most ardent supporters of the policy of capitalist liberalism.

But what of the non-Stalinist radical groups — the Norman Thomas socialists, the Shachtmanites, and the Cochranites? In the last six months, since the McCarthyite fascist danger assumed clear and definite outline, these groups have demonstrated utter confusion and ideological collapse.

The state of these groups is marked by the following features:

(1) None of them have presented an official statement on the character of McCarthyism and how to fight it. Any attempt to do so resulted in sharp internal differences which promptly canceled the official position.

(2) The internal discussions on McCarthyism within these groups are not leading to a clarification of what the differences are or how they can be resolved.

(3) The Army-McCarthy hearings, which so clearly confirmed our analysis of McCarthyism as the American form of fascism, had the effect of deepening the confusion and paralysis of thought among the groups.

(4) The lack of ideological vigor among them has been strikingly revealed by their careful avoidance of comment on the SWP analysis of McCarthyism. Not one of these groups has attempted to answer our severe criticism of what views they have published on McCarthyism.

The struggle against McCarthyism as a fascist menace poses in the sharpest form the perspective of struggle for workers's power in the United States. This is the root cause of the current confusion and floundering among the petty bourgeois radical groups. They have all succumbed to the sickness of skepticism over the capacity of the American working class to become the ruling class in America.

This is why they cannot face the reality of McCarthyism as a fascist menace. They dare not orient boldly and confidently on the perspective of the coming American revolution. Having turned their backs on a revolutionary socialist orientation, they can only look for a variety of formulas which in the last analysis lead them into the camp of the capitalist liberals, the Social Democrats and Stalinists.

Their Morals and Ours
By LEON TROTSKY

All the "moralistic" arguments of anti-Marxists — from the hoary charge that Lenin and the Bolsheviks were "amoral" to the current accusation that the guiding Marxist maxim is that "the end justifies the means" — are answered in this classic work.

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The Shaken Confidence of America's Rulers

By Mark Knight

The Army-McCarthy TV free-for-all evoked widespread disgust. The sight of the colossus, the government of the U.S., stooping to such a public performance brought forth a cry of shame. But to dismiss this sensational event as only proving an aberration or deficiency in the participants is to miss its real significance. The hearing was a symptom of the shaken confidence of America's rulers in their ability to carry out their project of conquering the world.

Such a hearing could not occur in any previous regime. In American history we have had other hearings, exposes, trials over graft and corruption, factional struggles for power that frequently resorted to immoral means, acts of criminality and vulgar opportunism. Yet in each case the end sought, the means used, were acceptable to our logic and sense of proportion if not to our morality or to our political point of view.

We could deplore the Tea Pot Dome scandal of the Harding-Coolidge era; but the stakes were high, the corruption meaningful, the participants consistent with their roles and character.

In the Army-McCarthy hearing what struck us was the disproportion between the massive martialling of heavy cannon and the flea target they aimed at.

"HIGH COST" OF SCHINE

The May 14 U.S. News and World Report discussed this perplexing lack of balance in an article, "The High Cost of Private Schine — TV Losing Millions, Top Officials Losing Time."

Says the article: "What started over an U.S. Army private has grown into a hearing that costs the U.S. Government at least $3,500 a day. Keeps 8 U.S. Senators tied up. . .Occupies almost full time of Secretary of the Army, an Assistant Secretary. . . 2 major generals, 1 colonel, 2 lieutenant colonels, at least 15 members of Subcommittee staff, a dozen other Government employees."

This case, the article continues, "for a time, tied in knots a big part of the machinery of Government of the world's mightiest nation. The nation's President felt it necessary to comment upon the affair."

The following estimate is then given: "How it could end. A report could be issued by the Subcommittee upholding either side of the dispute — or neither. Perjury charges could be recommended. Firing of some of the principals could result. But Senator McCarthy, an elected official, could not be summarily fired. Private Schine, regardless of the outcome, remains in the Army."

Can all this be dismissed as just an accidental error made by men in high office?

IRRATIONAL HAS REASON

Sigmund Freud, on the basis of his rationalistic materialist view, held that every act or notion, fantasy and even error or seeming accident in everyday life is an important symptom, a clue to a person's basic behaviour. It is exactly through such seeming irrational or fantastic acts or ideas that one can discover what lies in the unconscious levels of the mind. There is a causal connection between the fantastic and the real.

If we apply this approach to the apparently irrational in history, then we must say that to note the shamefulness, the absurd disproportion of the Army-McCarthy hearing, is to bring us to only the beginning of a proper evaluation. The true meaning of the event must be sought by placing it in the larger pattern of world social behaviour.

STRANGE PARADOX

Here is American capitalism, the most powerful in history, victor in two titanic world wars, richest of all empires, riding an economic boom beyond all expectations, willing to accept the mantle of ruler of the earth; and yet defeated in Korea, hurt in Indo-China, uneasy with its friends and allies.

In place of the world victory that Wall Street expected to gain over easy victims following World War II, strange and inexplicable occurrences took place.

The prostrate colonies rose to their feet. China now strides confidently from victory in Asia to the diplomatic corridors in Geneva. Little Indo-China destroys the bastions of its master, France, now but a cover for American ambitions. The Near East, Egypt, Africa, Latin America — all are stirring and eluding the hand ready to grasp them for their own good. Then the Soviet Union sets off its H-bomb. The American capitalist class rubbed Aladdin's lamp but the emerging Genii appears as the spectre of world communism.

This is the setting for the rise of McCarthy. The Eisenhower wing of the Republican Party properly views him as a political rival. But the President, although considered highly popular and backed by the decisive sector of Big Business, has been afraid to meet McCarthy head on.

Can it be that the Republican party is so unsure of itself and its future and the future of capitalism that it harbors the feeling that it needs McCarthy?

In addition to other pressures, a significant sector of the ruling class suffers pangs of conscience and doubt over what is happening to the American tradition of democracy and individual freedom. Yet it feels a growing need for the police state.

McCarthy in a sense becomes for them the symbol of this contradiction. They feel they might require his demagogic talents but presently deplore his undemocratic methods. They want him but not yet. They would like to control him but are attracted to being controlled by him. They spread an atmosphere of fear in the land but in truth they are afraid. They seem to cry out at the means used by McCarthy but unconsciously, in some cases consciously, these are the means they seek. They suffer the contradiction of those in transition.

The fact is that the madness in the Army-McCarthy hearings is a symptom of the lack of confidence, the insecurity, indecision and fear of failure of the business rulers. Whether this deep-seated fear is justifiable, history will prove. We who have long observed the insoluble contradictions of capitalism and who predict the victory of socialism know the answer is before us.

The Intellectual Freedom Committee of the American Library Assn., reported June 23, that "In 1953 some hundred odd instances of pressure against reading of books and of school and library collections have been brought to the attention of this committee."

The committee believes that "several major battles have been won," but that it's a "long-term war" to defend freedom of reading.

AFL-CIO Sign "No Raiding" Pact

AFL Pres. Meany (left) and CIO Pres. Reuther shown as they sign two-year no-raiding pact June 9 between 65 out of 111 AFL and 29 out of 33 CIO unions. Major AFL holdouts are Teamsters and Carpenters. CIO holdouts are Steelworkers, Lithographers, Newspaper Guild and Shipbuilders.

30 for 40 Demand Given as Answer To Unemployment

The June 5 Ford Facts, newspaper of the CIO United Automobile Workers Local 600 gives the following run down "on the thinking of some unions" on the demand for a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay:

The independent Electrical workers included a 35-hour at 40 hours pay in its lists of 1954 demands at both GE and Westinghouse.

Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers asked for a 30-hour week with 40 hours pay in negotiations at Anaconda Copper.

This is in line with the position adopted earlier by a Mine-Mill wage policy conference that "the issue of the six-hour day with eight hours pay be raised as a bargaining demand wherever appropriate."

The conference also suggested that "all contracts provide for immediate reopening of all wage-rates in the event of any reduction of hours in the present work-week."

CIO's Clothing Workers at their convention last week, endorsed a resolution calling for a reduction of hours from 40 to 35 a week, with time and one-half after seven hours a day.

CIO's Packinghouse Workers, also at a recent convention, adopted a bargaining program "aimed at meeting the twin threats of unemployment and mechanization." Among the high spots of the program is a 35-hour week with 40 hours pay.

Pennsylvania CIO Council has approved a resolution calling for a six-hour day in new contracts.

CIO's Textile Workers have suggested that the government set up a tripartite agency to enforce a 35-hour week with 40 hours pay in the textile industry. Such an agency, AWUA says, should have authority to limit machine operations to two shifts a day, if necessary to relieve unemployment.

AFL Ladies' Garment Workers have been most successful in actually achieving a shorter work-week. The union recently reported that about 80% of its membership are now covered by 35-hour contracts providing at least the equivalent of 40 hours pay. ILGWU's next goal: time and one-half for all hours over 35 a week; about half of its members, the union says, already are covered by such provisions.

Federal Squads Hound Mexicans in California

By Leonard Sanchez

OAKLAND, Calif., June 18 — A state-wide round-up of Mexican workers by "task forces" of federal officers has once again put the spotlight on the plight of the "braceros" — laborers lured from Mexico by lying promises of good jobs and high pay in the U.S.

About 700 officers made raids the first day in an area extending from the border to San Francisco. They announced that some 2,000 had been captured by nightfall. The plan was to load them on buses, take them to Nogales, Ariz., transfer them to guarded trains and send them far into the interior of Mexico for release.

Illegal Mexican labor is eagerly sought for by big ranchers throughout the southwest. The workers are completely at the mercy of the rancher, his stooges and the local authorities. Consequently they are forced to work for even less than the Mexican laborers who enter the country legally under contracts.

CONTRACTS VIOLATED

The contract worker is guaranteed a certain minimum wage as well as living accomodations and other "benefits." It is well known that the contracts are constantly violated, including such items as non-payment of wages. But the illegal worker without a contract is even worse off.

The importation of Mexican labor at substandard wages has further aggravated the intolerable conditions existing in the southwest. This pool of cheap labor has forced thousands to migrate from the Imperial valley into the San Joaquin valley and points further north.

These displaced workers in turn press on the cities, increasing the army of unemployed. This is one of the causes of the open-shop character of labor in Southern California both in the fields as well as in the factories.

Mexican-American workers suffer doubly through the importation of braceros. They are replaced in the fields and find their wage standards under heavy pressure. They are identified in the public mind with the newly imported laborers and thus held accountable as "Mexicans" for the substandard living conditions that spread like a great blot over many sections of the southwest.

What are the "friends" of labor in the Democratic Party doing about this situation? The answer is — nothing. Since the importation of Mexican labor began during World War II under a Democratic administration, conditions have steadily worsened. The Republicans have simply continued the policies inaugurated under the Democrats.

LABOR PARTY NEEDED

What about the Mexican-American people? They took a step in the right direction when they mobilized as a group and succeeded in getting a representative of the big Mexican-American community in Los Angeles elected to the City Council several years ago. But this representative, Ed Roybal, has switched allegiance and is now running for Lt. Governor as a Democrat.

Although he may speak against the more brutal manifestations of exploitation, prejudice and discrimination against Mexican workers, his basic allegiance as a Democrat is to the program of Big Business.

The road that must be taken by the Mexican-American people is clear. They must push for the formation of a Labor Party that can genuinely represent their interests which are the same as those of the labor movement as a whole.

The formation of an independent Labor Party would mean the beginning of the end of the bitter conditions affecting the lives of Mexican-Americans in the United States. It would mean an end to the lying propaganda that insults the Mexicans by calling them "wetbacks," and that does not hesitate to say that "Mexicans do not mind bending and the sun does not bother them."

Twenty-nine East Germans were sentenced to death by Soviet or East German courts in the past year for their part in the June 17 workers' revolt. 470 others received prison terms up to life-imprisonment. Thousands of others have been confined to concentration camps.

World Events

By Fred Hart

AS NEW PREMIER of France, Mendes-France takes charge of a crisis-ridden empire. Besides the struggle in Indo-China, Morocco is in a "latent civil war." The same in Tunisia. In the South of France there has been a resistance movement among shopkeepers and peasants against paying taxes. Last summer the French working class went on a general strike that with proper leadership could have led to the creation of a workers government; and last fall the government was hit by a peasant movement protesting over-production and demanding subsidides.

* * *

ILLEGAL COINS. The instability of capitalism has given rise to a new industry in recent years in Europe — namely the manufacture of "bogus" but genuine gold coins. These coins are stamped out in replica of old Napoleons or other famous gold coins of the past and sold throughout Europe and Asia. They have the full gold content and are counterfeit only in the sense that these coins have long ceased to be legal tender. But they are sought avidly by millions who want to have a gold hoard on hand when times are bad and currencies lose their value. The minters started in a rather primitive style with two used brass button-making machines bought in the U.S. and set up in Milan. But they now maintain manufacturing and selling stations in many cities of Eastern Europe, the Near East and Switzerland.

* * *

WORKERS IN HUNGARY are helping themselves to improvements in their living standard. The Hungarian Stalinist regime has launched a war against so-called "wage swindlers" — workers who are receiving unauthorized wages with the consent of the managers. This movement has extended to whole branches of industry. The Stalinist bureaucrats complain that "illegally, (work) norms are lowered and wages are raised — workers are unwarrantably placed in higher wage categories and undeserved premiums paid." In addition, workers are changing their places of employment when they are supposed to stay put.

As a result, between the end of 1951 and April 1953 the average wage rose by 49% without a corresponding increase in output. The Stalinist regime had promised a higher living standard to the workers last summer, but the workers refuse to rely on promises and prefer to get improvements by their own efforts. It is reported that the Hungarian Stalinists have been put on the carpet by the Kremlin for allowing this laxity.

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THE NEW CHINA has written into its draft constitution clauses which protect the rights of capitalists. "The state protects the ownership of means of production and other property by capitalists according to law," says the draft. "The policy of the state toward capitalist industry and commerce is: to use, restrict, and transform. . ." The state "encourages and guides the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce into various forms of state capitalist economy." Thus "step by step, capitalist ownership is replaced by ownership of the whole people."

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REGULAR DIPLOMATIC relations between England and the People's Republic of China are to be established in the near future. The Chinese government agreed on June 16 to send a representative to Britain for that purpose. England recognized the new Chinese government in 1950, but relations between the two countries have never been regularized. In addition a party of Chinese trade experts is to visit Britain soon. From the British side, a Labor Party delegation, headed by former Prime Minister Clement R. Attlee will leave for a tour of China in August.

* * *

LA VERITE, French Trotskyist publication, reports in its May 28 issue about the work of the Trotskyist movement in Vietnam. They are active in the Vietminh guerrilla units and in the trade unions in the cities in the zone held by the French expeditionary forces.

"Working under extremely difficult conditions," says La Verite "and despite . . . the terror exercised by Tam-Bay-Vien, our comrades have managed to regroup and bring new elements around them. After two years of 'slow and patient' work, they have today a large audience, especially among the working class of the cities. Some of them have participated in a Congress of unions as delegates. . .Although they did not obtain a majority of the members of the Congress, they were already able to build an effective minority with a precise political program."

La Verite says that the Vietnam Trotskyists deserve high praise for the firmness of their militants "who saw their movement beheaded by Stalinist terror in 1944-45."

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WEST PAKISTAN troops have been sent to East Pakistan to impose martial law after prime minister Mohammed Ali dismissed Fazlul Huq, elected head for the eastern part of the country. According to Samasamajist, publication of the Ceylonese Trotskyists, what is behind this move is a break of the East Pakistani from the Muslim League and the expression of nationalist aspirations, which lead them to think of reunification with India. In addition the United Front coalition of parties which recently swept the elections and placed Huq in office is opposed to the Turkey-Pakistan military pact engineered by American imperialism. The Mohammed Ali regime is one of the few allies that American imperialism has in Asia.

Fascism and Big Business
By DANIEL GUERIN

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THE MILITANT

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The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Challenge to the NAACP Convention

The 45th annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People meets in Dallas, Texas, from June 29 to July 4. Undoubtedly, the recent Supreme Court decision declaring segregation in public schools unconstitutional will dominate the proceedings this year.

The legal victory boosted the membership, the financial support, and the prestige of the organization. But it also presents a challenge to the leadership and the membership of the NAACP: Will they be able to follow up on the court decision? Will they be able to utilize it effectively to make real gains in the struggle against Jim Crow?

The southern ruling class immediately set about the business of organizing and planning for the continuation of segregation within the framework of the court decision. Not the least important of the means they hope to employ is the continuation of separate schools and other Jim Crow institutions on a "voluntary" basis, banking on apathy of people conditioned by generations of isolation from whites, on the vested interests of the thin layer of slightly more privileged Negroes who have "accommodated" themselves to existing conditions with the help of a middle-class outlook, and on veiled threats and open violence.

NAACP leaders recognize that in the last analysis, the Negro masses will be decisive in determining what happens to the Supreme Court ruling. The Atlanta declaration issued by a conference of southern NAACP branches expressed their *determination to seek immediate implementation by action of the branches* in each locality through petitions to local school boards.

Now the convention faces the challenge: Will the delegates take steps to democratize the organization in order to assure mass participation in the NAACP campaign, wide community mobilizations for the difficult struggles ahead? Does the NAACP have the inner resources of militant rank and file leaders with experience in mass action and a base in the working class necessary to press and extend the battle for equal rights without compromise?

Does the NAACP have a sufficiently firm principled stand on civil rights to reject the pressures of reactionary influences within the organization as well as outside of it? Can it reaffirm its traditional opposition to witch hunts and subversive lists, to exploitation of its allies among the colonial peoples and to current attempts to atomize its strongest logical ally at home, the labor movement?

And, finally, has a sufficiently astute, principled and courageous leadership developed in the organization to recognize the failure of playing capitalist politics, of permitting the Democratic and Republican politicians to play foot-loose with the life and death struggles of the Negro people? Has the NAACP attained the stature to break with both parties, to denounce their double-dealing, and to call on the labor movement to join in forming an independent political movement to fight for the common interests of all who labor?

This is the challenge the delegates to the 45th annual NAACP convention have before them.

Stool-Pigeon Advice

By Clara Kaye

As Barbara Hartle, champion professional informer in the Velde Committee's Seattle hearings, left the witness stand, she was presented with a bouquet of roses and grateful compliments from the witch-hunting Committee members. She then turned to the admiring reporters and performed her function as a heroine of the witch hunt press by giving her "philosophy" to the women of America:

"While I was underground and had time for such womanly things as crocheting and sewing and reading, I finally reached a decision to break with the party. I regret very much that I never had children. But I will be ready for marriage and a normal woman's lot if a suitable man comes along."

It isn't likely that a normal woman would take advice from this professional stool pigeon. But Barbara Hartle's "new" views on "woman's place" is merely an echo of the preachments of Big Business' professional advisors of women. These "advisors" have taken up an attack on women in industry, women in politics, or women in any occupation other than household drudge.

Women who subordinate child bearing to professional careers, work in industry, or intensive activity in the labor movement are depicted by these bigots as somehow criminal. They preach that a "well balanced" woman's life should revolve exclusively around marriage and family.

These concepts were clearly stated by Hitler: "Children, kitchen and church." The recent proclamation of this formula for women's place, which Barbara Hartle discovered as her own when she became a stool pigeon, are merely slicked-up versions of the fascist directive to women.

There is a connection between Barbara Hartle's stool pigeon service to the fascist Velde and her betrayal of the elementary democratic rights of women who are striving for social and economic equality and liberation from the status of domestic slave.

It is no wonder that this broken and defeated woman, who became the willing creature of the witch hunters should now glorify the shackles of the housewife — just as this same housewife is beginning to emerge from her domestic cocoon and demand her place as a full citizen of society.

The sooner Barbara Hartle's "suitable man" (only stool pigeons need apply) comes along, the better. For there can hardly be a punishment more fitting to Barbara Hartle's crime than the lot of the average American housewife. She deserves no better fate.

Notes from the News

WORKERS WHO SUFFERED cuts in take home pay in 1953 should remember that it wasn't so tough for everybody. Big Business executives got average salary increases of $11,000 each. Harlow H. Curtice of General Motors received $637,000 in 1953 as compared with a measly $521,000 in 1952.

* * *

RAY H. JENKINS, "impartial" special counsel to the Senate subcommittee investigating the McCarthy-Army dispute announced June 21: "If I became a candidate for the Senate in Tennessee and Senator McCarthy magnanimously tendered his services in coming down to make a speech for me, I would say frankly as of this moment I would accept his offer." Democratic members of the subcommittee expressed shock over this statement which was made before the committee had renderd its verdict on the charges and countercharges. Jenkins is supposed to aid in the preparation of the verdict. This declaration by Jenkins, even though hastily covered with a declaration that he would also welcome Army Secretary Stevens' endorsement, confirms what the Militant said at the outset of the hearings — namely that Jenkins was "impartial" on McCarthy's side.

* * *

REGISTRATION AND FINGERPRINTING LAWS in three New Jersey cities are under attack by the American Civil Liberties Union. The ordinances, adopted last year by officials of Atlantic City, Lakewood and Keansburg, require all out-of-town workers to register and be fingerprinted as if they were guilty of some criminal act. In a letter to the three city governments, the ACLU points out that the ordinances "cut directly across the rights of due process guaranteed each individual in the Fifth and Sixth Amendments." The ACLU adds that registration and fingerprinting of non-resident workers "is not only degrading and an interference with the right of privacy, but restricts individual freedom of movement."

* * *

BARRY GRAY will no longer appear on Dumont's New York WABD outlet where his weekday program was televised for over two years, reports the June 20 N. Y. Post. Gray, who attacked the fascist Senator McCarthy almost nightly, said, "I think this has rubbed Dumont the wrong way."

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VOID TEXTBOOK OATH. An Alabama law requiring statements in textbooks affirming that the authors of those books or any others cited therein are not "subversives" has been voided as unworkable and violative of the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Circuit Court of Montgomery County, Alabama, held that the statute, which was passed last year by a 20-0 vote in the state Senate and 62-1 in the House, was "unreasonable, arbitrary and oppressive and if enforced would deprive the public schools and tax-supported colleges and universities of Alabama of textbooks and of the use of other books in school and college libraries."

* * *

"NORMAL" — UNDER CAPITALISM. The June 17 N. Y. Herald Tribune reports that a poll of 3,500 high school and college students in New Jersey, conducted by the Fairleigh Dickinson College of Rutherford, turned up the fact that 9% saw nothing "particularly wrong" or "delinquent" about robbery; 12% felt the same way about stealing; 15%, destruction of property; 17%, sex violations; 75%, lying and cheating. "We see here that lying and cheating is a normal way of life," said Prof. Warren L. Duncan of Fairleigh Dickinson. "Certainly this presents us with a challenge, especially when we hear the charge on evry hand that you cannot believe or trust a Communist!"

* * *

NORMAN THOMAS declared at the recent 1954 convention of the Socialist Party that the organization stands "at the lowest ebb" in its 54-year history. Only 125 delegates from 12 states were present. Thomas argued that the SP should not run any candidates for office higher than Congress. He also advocated that the party should "work for a better realignment of the present two-party system." This sounds like the current Stalinist line of moving deep into the Democratic Party. However, the SP hopes to travel this road with the Social Democratic Federation as the SP convention adopted a resolution similar to one passed by the SDF in May calling for unification of the two organizations. Committees are to meet on the question in the near future.

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UNITED FRUIT'S GOOD RIGHT ARM. Sen. Mansfield (R., Mont.), reporting the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency headed by Allen W. Dulles, brother of the Secretary of State, recently cited the following activity of the agency: "Abortive effort by CIA undercover men to start a revolution in Guatemala and blame it on the United Fruit Company." This appeared in the Congressional Record of March 10, 1954.

* * *

A ROOTIN', TOOTIN' McCarthyite went down to Guatemala to fight in the United Fruit rebellion against the government. He is Joseph Rendon, who last month was an unsuccessful candidate for Congress from New Mexico. During World War II, Rendon was an agent for the OSS in Guatemala. The OSS was the forerunner of the Central Intelligence Agency. Rendon wrote to a pal that he had found "Communist infiltration" in Guatemala in 1944 but that his request for action had been "sabotaged by Democratic pinks and Reds in Washington."

Set Back McCarthyites

Rep. Robert L. Condon (D.) points to map of California Congressional district where he won renomination in June 8 primaries despite tag of "poor security risk." Below, Mrs. Mildred Younger (center) is congratulated after beating McCarthyite Jew-baiter Jack Tenney two to one in GOP primaries for state senator.

...Greet Legless Veteran

(Continued from page 1)

Attorney General Frank Millard had to admit before the court early this year that he had no evidence to support the charge. The Socialist Workers Party will again be on the ballot this year, running candidates for public office."

The response at other union meetings has been equally friendly and sympathetic. He was greeted with applause when the president of the Joint Board of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing workers introduced him as "our good friend Mr. Kutcher who is conducting such a valiant fight. . ." The members bought a considerable number of Kutcher's book, The Case of the Legless Veteran, and assured him they would take official action to purchase a bloc.

At the West Side Tool & Die Local 157, members responded to Kutcher's speech by purchasing a number of books at once. The president of the local requested that 100 order blanks be left so that others not present might get the book.

At UAW Murray Local 2, six members of the Executive Board bought books and promised further aid. This particular local has suffered considerably from layoffs. Out of a normal 8,000, only 1,200 hold jobs.

The Executive Board of UAW Dodge 3 purchased copies of the book and President Cheal invited Kutcher to speak before their unemployed meeting. Kutcher was received in a very friendly way, many gathering after his talk to shake hands with him.

The president of UAW Local 985 introduced Kutcher with the request that the audience give him a fair hearing and not be influenced by the hysteria of the witch hunt.

The Tool & Die Unit of Local 600 responded to Kutcher's speech by purchasing 20 copies of his book. And the members of Cadillac Local 22 voted unanimously to purchase 50 copies.

On two occasions, Kutcher's story has been told by Guy Nunn, official UAW radio commentator, once as a report and again with Kutcher before the microphone for eight minutes. The official UAW estimate of Nunn's listening audience is 160,000 people.

The Detroit Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild organized an informal luncheon for Kutcher where he was introduced to the Executive Board. All present bought a copy of the book which was described by Attorney Harold Norris, Secretary of the Detroit Chapter as **"an excellent book... I've read it once and intend to read it again. Every lawyer who is seriously concerned with the growing McCarthyite threat to our civil liberties should read it."**

A new organization, the "Committee for Academic Freedom," which was founded to help resist the Clardy persecution of teachers in the Detroit area, heard a representative of Kutcher. He outlined the main issues in the Kutcher case and sold the audience, which manifested considerable interest, eight copies of the book.

Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, Minister of the Central Methodist Church and one of the prominent supporters of Kutcher's case in Detroit, offered the use of his church for a public meeting. In view of the summer lull, arrangements were made to defer the meeting until fall.

Al Barbour, Secretary of the Wayne County CIO Council sent a letter to all CIO unions in the area, informing them in the name of the council of Kutcher's presence, reaffirming support to the case, and urging the unions to invite Kutcher to their meetings.

Kutcher's autobiography. The Case of the Legless Veteran, is now on sale at Marwil's Book Store, 33 W. Warren, Detroit, Mich.

Witch-Hunting Committee Smears Seattle Unionists

SEATTLE, June 20—The witch-hunting Velde committee had a field day this past week in Seattle. The fascist-minded members of the House Un-American Activities Committee ran riot over scores of subpoenaed witnesses and intimidated thousands of people in the city. In contrast to San Francisco, where the militant opposition displayed by the longshoremen in their stopwork protest against the Committee forced Velde to leave town in a hurry, in Seattle not one local met the union-busting threat with determined action. The Veldeites had it all their own way.

Why was the Velde committee able to score such a victory? The blame lies on the AFL and CIO leaders. These union officials are opposed to McCarthyism, which they recognize in a general way to be a union-busting threat. But they are also in favor of the drive against the "communists" and have conducted witch hunts in the unions on their own account. This ties their hands in the fight against Velde.

Besides, the labor bureaucracy looks to the Democratic party to conduct the struggle against McCarthyism. This is also the political line of the Stalinists. Neither of them look to the ranks of labor as the only force that can roll back Velde and McCarthy. The labor leadership has no confidence in its own membership and is afraid of militant action. It does not know how to explain the nature of the McCarthyite menace to their ranks. That is why the union officials quickly caved in to the Velde committee in Seattle, although Velde centered his inquisition on alleged radicals in the unions and thereby aimed his attacks directly at the labor movement.

WEAKNESS IN STAND

What happened to the longshore leadership during the course of the committee's stay points up the failure of the labor leadership to meet Velde's challenge. The longshoremen alone of all the union locals in Seattle announced in advance that they would fight the hearings. But their resolution contained a serious weakness that played right into Velde's hand. The longshoremen announced that the local would stop work if any of their own members were attacked, but made it clear that they would not oppose the hearings under any other circumstance.

This formula was wrong in principle because it was a violation of the time-honored slogan of the labor movement that "an injury to one is an injury to all." That slogan applies to the fight against the witch-hunt as well as the economic battles of the labor movement. And it was wrong as a tactic, too. For it tipped off the Velde committee in advance that all it needed to do to avoid stiff resistance was to leave the longshoremen alone in the beginning.

Velde did this. But after he got his redbaiting attack going he turned it against the longshoremen, and their opposition collapsed. The right-wing leadership went so far as to take action at the committee's request against a longshore "pool" worker who had issued a leaflet against Velde in his own name. The longshore local also voted to send a letter to Velde repudiating a public statement by Bill Gettings, Regional Director of the union, who denounced the committee.

DENNETT TOO

The general cave-in of the union leadership included Eugene Dennett, a former leader of the Communist Party and the CIO, whom the Stalinists expelled in 1947 as a "Trotskyist" and an "FBI agent" although he was neither. After his expulsion, Dennett won a good reputation as an independent, socialist-minded union militant in Local 1208 of the United Steelworkers of America.

On the first day of the hearings, Dennett was still waging a struggle against the witch hunters. He appeared before the committee on a subpoena and stood on the Fifth Amendment. He refused to answer questions about his past in the Communist Party and explained that he refused to be an informer. His performance had shortcomings, but was nevertheless a contribution to the fight against the Velde committee.

But on June 18, Dennett returned to the committee voluntarily as a cooperative witness. He offered to tell everything about his past in the Communist Party and indicated that he was prepared to cite names. He topped off his betrayal with an abject statement declaring that he did not think that the committee had violated his civil rights, overlooking the fact — well-known to him in the past — that the very investigation into political beliefs conducted by the Velde committee is a violation of basic civil liberties.

EXPECTS TO REPEAT

The Velde Committee intends to return to Seattle in the future, having found the city favorable on this occasion for its disruptive work. It is up to the militants in the unions to explain the damage wrought by the committee's invasion and to show that Velde will follow it up with even harder blows against the labor movement.

The recent hearings undoubtedly served to consolidate a McCarthyite force in the unions and throughout the city, but countless numbers of workers were revolted by the Veldeites. **The union militants can mobilize these individuals in the future if they prevail upon the union leadership to carry through a fight.**

Velde's victory should not be taken as definitive. The Velde committee scored a similar sweeping triumph in its first foray on Detroit two years ago. But on its return visit to that city this year, the Velde committee found influential UAW locals on record against it. And while the Veldeites scored a few successes, it was clear that important sections of the union movement had learned the lesson from the failure of the labor leadership to stop Velde when he went on his earlier rampage.

The Execution of Private Slovik

By Joyce Cowley

THE EXECUTION OF PRIVATE SLOVIK by William Bradford Huie. A Signet Book. 25 cents.

Eddie Slovik was the only American executed for desertion since 1864. He was executed as an example, to discourage further desertions. Yet until a year ago the case was secret and even Eddie's wife never knew how or why he was killed.

About 40,000 men deserted during the last world war — 3,000 were tried, 49 condemned to death. But Eddie Slovik was the only one to face the firing squad. Why? Was he the very worst offender, the only one who didn't deserve clemency?

When they were getting ready for the execution, tying Eddie's hands and feet to the post, the Sergeant said:

"Take it easy, Eddie. Try to make it easy on yourself, and on us."

"I'm okay," Eddie replied. "They're not shooting me for deserting the U.S. army. Thousands of guys have done that. They're shooting me for bread and chewing gum. I stole when I was twelve years old."

Eddie was convicted for embezzlement when he was seventeen. He had worked in a drug store and sometimes pocketed the change. He also took home candy, cigarettes and chewing gum. At the end of six months the total sum of the "embezzlement" came to $59.60, and Eddie served a three year term in a reform school.

This was the criminal record that counted heavily against him when a request for clemency went to the commanding general — Dwight D. Eisenhower. Eddie wrote Eisenhower a letter but the general never read it. He doesn't read much and prefers to get information through the briefing process.

BORN IN A BAD YEAR

Huie talked to Harry Diminick, supervisor of the reform school. Diminick said that Eddie was born in a bad year. "If your old man was a Polack press operator, 1920 was a bad year to be born. When you were 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14, your old man didn't punch much and your mother couldn't get much scrubbing to do. Kids foraged in the streets. Everybody you knew was hungry and fighting and stealing and drinking and in trouble. You came out of it either weak or scared or else rebellious and resentful. Eddie came out of it weak and scared."

When he was released in 1942, Eddie got a job in a plumbing shop. He fell in love with a girl at the shop, worked hard, got a raise, persuaded the girl to marry him. For a year they were happy. They both worked, bought furniture, bought a second hand car. Then Eddie was reclassified from 4-F to 1-A. Mrs. Slovik was crippled and her condition grew critical while Eddie was in training. If it hadn't been for the unfavorable report of a superpatriotic Red Cross worker who visited her, he probably would have received a hardship deferment.

Eddie never had much. For the first time that last year he got a break, and it was tough to leave. From the time he entered service until his execution — 372 days — he wrote his wife 376 letters.

ALONE IN A FOX HOLE

When he got overseas, Eddie went through one night of shelling. Alone in his fox hole, he was scared, and he decided he didn't want to fight. He signed a confession which read: "I told the commanding officer my story. I said if I had to go out there again I'd run away. He said there was nothing he could do for me so I ran away and I'll run away again if I have to go out there."

Eddie Slovik's real crime, according to the army, was that he "directly challenged the authority of the United States." He not only deserted, he admitted his desertion — in writing. — and declared emphatically that he would desert again. Besides, he was an ex-con and they needed an example.

All of his buddies said that Eddie was a good-natured fellow. He'd work hard and was always doing people some kind of special favor like cooking potato pancakes for a Canadian regiment, helping French civilians get to a funeral, or dispensing cigarettes to weary German pilots. He didn't hate anyone, not even the Germans. But, says Huie: "Slovik had not been assigned to the Red Cross. Brotherhood was not his business. What G company 109th regiment needed was killers."

In his last letter to his wife Eddie wrote: "I knew they would not let us be happy."

"THEY"

"As you read Private Slovik's letters," says Huie, "you find yourself wishing that, just once, he'd try to define the word 'they.' In the last minute before the volley that ended his life, he was still using they. Since the execution order was issued by General Eisenhower 'for the United States,' they is the community, the United States."

The execution was not much of a success. There was such a "hue and cry" afterwards in the army ranks that none of the other death sentences were carried out. Huie seems to feel that while the execution may have been justified, it was not really necessary and he thinks Slovik will be the last deserter executed by the U.S. army.

He's wrong. There's nothing more dangerous to a military machine than men who just don't want to fight. If thousands of men start deserting from a critical front, "they" will take measures far more drastic than the execution of one man.

Eddie Slovik never did explain who "they" were and I don't think much of Huie's explanation. But I believe everyone who's got a boss on his neck, everyone who stands in the long line of men and women waiting to file unemployment claims, every youngster who is drafted to fight an incomprehensible war against the people of Asia, will have better luck in identifying who "they" are — the Wall street profiteers, the imperialists and the crooked politicians who serve them, the men who are driving all of us into a war we don't want to fight.

Police Brutality Cases Dropped by New York Press

NEW YORK, June 23 — A curtain is being drawn over recent exposures of New York police brutality. For over a week the metropolitan press ran stories about the innocent Paul A. Pfeffer sentenced 20 years to life on the basis of a confession he charges was extorted by the police. This week the press has dropped the butality angle like a hot potato — satisfied that Pfeffer has been granted a court hearing.

Not a word appeared about another prisoner in the big house serving ten to twenty years on a murder charge. Oliver Leonard Freeman, 18, was also convicted on the basis of a confession that he too said was beaten out of him by the police.

Now the very same psycopathic killer who confessed the murder for which Pfeffer was sentenced is also reported to have confessed the murder for which the young negro lad Freeman was convicted.

Three young Puerto Rican prisoners at Sing Sing are facing death for a crime which they deny. Here too there is the same story of police brutality and extorted statements. The support already extended to these three has resulted in an appeal being granted, which a battery of six court-appointed attorneys is now preparing.

There have been a series of cases pointing up the routine practice of police here in working over prisoners. A year ago New York police brutality was investigated by a congressional committee, but the report which was filed with the House Judiciary Committee has never been made public, and it is said that there is a move now on to kill it.

The current brutality cases which have been brought dramatically to light by the developments in the psycopathic killer's case were in main headlines for a few days and then were suddenly dropped.

The current campaign to organize wide support for the three Puerto Rican youths to save them from death will bring to public attention it is hoped, what goes on in the back rooms of the Police Department.

NEW YORK

PROTEST Meeting

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"Hands off Guatemala"

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